[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619 131 634 613 /42 cont./ The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

[217] [127]

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 101 634 487 One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: [721] whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Ali, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

133 101 634 The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of [769] the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an epohymous saint, [349] or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from [776] whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic [197] snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. 173 Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] [613] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly inhabited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 [795] [796] At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, redoubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen.
173 721 619 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split
613 up, ikhs by ikhs.
619

Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
621 a. Ikru,	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa,	Have the agri-
619 "those of	but came very anciently from	cultural
613 the kdd."	Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	initium.
193 a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gfir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-	These are the
a. Wakrim.	seqqalen from Usikis.	only two con-
		quering
		branches.

/92 cont./

114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne. It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne himself, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents, if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
• 721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
[701] At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa, Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power, officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/ tactic.

616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121]
[113]

1. We have studied them from the viewpoint of the psychological documentation that they

/395 cont./

577 competitions of the group, the number of affairs where a good ob-
571 jective law could have made victory anticipated before a juris-diction likewise objective -- but is it? -- is ludicrously small compared to that of the mad instances that hatred, appetite, fidelity impose. An instinctive realism thus governs the indefinite reconduction of litigations rather than a decision that would close debate, and dry up life.

Nevertheless, out of this confusion of passions and interests, of subtleties and angers, finally rises a sort of equilibrium. It is formed from the constancy that opposes indefinitely, that is to say, maintains in their respective positions, the rival factions. Tension becomes safeguard. Vengeance, the momentary possession of power, the success of a judicial stratagem compensate for, for a few moments, a few years, a few generations, the phases of persecution, poverty, or exile. The justice of this society thus governs the free exercise of each of the two terms of the alternative.

An appeal to outside intervention, which would consolidate one or the other, is properly inexpiable treason. Whence the rigorous penalties that the canton codifications devote to it: [634] heavy fines, banishment, death. But let us not exaggerate. To [628] enter into understandings with the neighbor, against the communal adversary, is a constant solicitation between these homogeneous cantons, bound by obscure solidarities. Neither would peace offer here the security that this word arouses in a modern mind, nor war [721] the unconditional violence and leap into the unknown that it is for us. Here war is but an infraction of the rules of the game. But it is also the recourse to a larger game. Rapine and vengeance /396/ are practiced in the one case as well as in the other one. More than individuals, it is families who are the protagonists. Exactly like the Fabia gens, certain ones carry on alliances and rivalries by themselves. War is the prolongation of municipal 121 tensions. Unless, inversely, they result from larger disputes. To what therefore does the notion of taqbilt correspond, on both sides of which are disposed the one and the other tension, thus similar and interdependent, and to what extent does it constitute a

/124 cont./

*631 159 the brother of El Hiba, sultan of the holy war in the South, and the son of Ma el ʿAïnin, sorcerer and theologian who left the desert of Mauritania twenty years ago to help the Sultan drive the Christians from the Empire. By his presence, this false sherif gives the revolt in which the tribes of the western Anti-Atlas persist the excuse of legality. Thus his existence confirms, even for the dissident region, our first impression of a Southern Morocco organized in a uniform manner into great commands according to rules of geographical division that are both simple and clear.

II. The internal organization of the great commands. --

*631 Let us proceed further with the appearances, alone observable for the moment, in order to understand, thanks to our guides, the external aspects of this political organization of the great kaids, which seems so different from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ countries of North Africa.

Although the great chiefs of the Atlas are subject to the Sultan and sometimes invoke his name to justify their conquests, we see, by the firm domination that they exercise over the mountain tribes, that their personal authority is much stronger than that of the ephemeral kaids of the plains of the North. We might have been tempted at first to think that these chiefs must be /125/ limited in the exercise of their command by the local institutions, whose democratic tendencies are so marked in other regions, such as the Rif, the Kabylie /Kabylia/, and the Aurès; but, on the contrary, the masters of the tribes seem to us to form here a veritable aristocratic and feudal class, established above the populations that they govern. When these mountain kaids assemble [628] their warriors, as during the reign of Moulay ʿAbd el ʿAziz, in [721] order to settle their quarrels among themselves, they disturb the whole country, without anyone's being able to intervene in order to stop their dissensions; if the Empire weakens, one sees them descending to the plains to fight over the rich regions of the Azaghar of Marrakech, to compete in order to get the government of the capital of the South and to protect the ruler. Even [152] when the lords of the Atlas return to their high valleys, they are still to be feared, and nobody knows exactly the limit of their

/126 cont./

*631 712 mountains, it is those of Taourirt at the Warzazat, of Asarag in the Tifnout, of Izoggweir in the Zagmouzen, of Taliwin among the Souktana of the Sous, of Bou Zougga among the Ida ou Ziki.

*631 174 The very exercise of the power of the great chiefs of the mountains again confirms our first impression of an anciently established feudal regime. If we question them, the Berbère /Berber/ lords will tell us that their ancestors formerly governed nearly all the tribes that are subject to them today. The latter thus find themselves, after generations, yielding in the most complete obedience. However it may have been in the past, so difficult to know now, caliphates, relatives, or allies of the great kaids, by living in their valley fortresses; ensure the transmission of their orders, scrupulously executed by the subjects. In the *631 tribal fractions the agents of the caliphates are well-established 342 sheiks, whose houses, carefully constructed, given a coat of whitewash, are easily distinguished amidst poor villages with earthen walls.

*631 Finally, if we observe the scenes of daily life, an immense distance appears to us to separate the great chief, who, from the depths of his casbah, directs all the politics of the mountains, from the humble farmers hard at work, bent over the ground in their narrow valleys, whose appearance so poorly evokes to our eyes the fierce partisans of Almohade times. Upon the passage of the lord, one sees the subjects advance in crowds to kiss the flap of his garment or to bow before him in an attitude of deepest respect. Men-at-arms, peasants, Jews, and beggars crowd one [735] another in the /127/ courtyard of the feudal fortresses and wait for the alms of a meal from the generosity of the chief.

*631 Doubtless, it must certainly be admitted, we would be told, if we insisted a little, there are to be found at the border of the *634 great commands some lost cantons of the high mountains whose inhabitants do not unreservedly favor obeying the casbahs' orders. They are the very ones that Brives visited not long ago in the Atlas and that he calls the "Douars-tampon." These small villages, [721] more or less independent, "enjoy," he tells us, "a certain autonomy; the adjoining kaids each have their partisans, combat is

*631 /127 cont./
*634 always in a latent state there, and, in case of a quarrel, it proves
• [721] to be very violent" (1).
[113]

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, Algiers, 1909, p. 419.

Such are the Aït Gaïr, the Seksawa, and the little islet of unyielding dissidents of the Ida Ou Tanan; but those are, the comrades of the kaids tell us, "thieves, highway-cutters, or shepherds," of whom each speaks only with scorn. There still exist
*631 among these backward populations some minor independent chiefs who lack only the acknowledgment of the Makhzen /makhzan/. In spite of the appearances of anarchy, if our informants are to be believed, they make the political advice received from Tagontaft, Bouaboud, or some other casbah at the foot of the mountains respected as far as these inaccessible summits.

[648] Thus, the system of great commands under the nominal authority of the Sultan has now been imposed on these tribes of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ whose history has shown us such frequent revolts in the course of the centuries. In our day the Berbère /Berber/ lords dominate the whole country. No problem is posed that they cannot solve; they are, officially at least, the sole source of authority; the maintenance of order, the carrying out of our instructions are guaranteed by them, and they make peace and security prevail everywhere.

121 III. The independent islets in the high mountains. -- Now
*631 let us try to free ourselves from our escort of retainers, who are
*634 too devoted to the powerful kaids of the South, in order to discover better the true state of the institutions; it has sufficed for us to perceive, at least by its external aspects, the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or that of the chiefs who exercise authority over the tribes in the name of the Sultan; but we already know that the attention of our guides is not carried /128/ willingly over to the social and political life of the small groups remaining independent at the border of the great commands. On the other hand, the study of these lost cantons tempts us, since from this

*634 /157 cont./
square kilometers, and whatever the numerical strength of the
184 population may be, it does not exceed these dimensions.
131 It cannot suffice, in order to explain this fractioning into visibly equal units, to invoke the geographic arrangement of the places; as a matter of fact, it is observed in a land divided into regular compartments, as in the high valleys of the Tichka and of the Igdad, as well as in a region of plateaus, for example, to the west of the Sirwa, in the Azilal, or the south of the Haha, or the land of the Ilalen; likewise it exists in the big valleys, such as those of the Nefis or of the Tifnout. The precise reason for this surprising constancy of the dimensions of the "taqbilt" seems to us to have to be sought in the no less invariable nature of its institutions.

*634 In most of the republics whose territory has remained inde-
[194] pendent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ there exist, or there were not long ago, little senates charged with administering the country; numerous indications show us that it was formerly the same in the Berbère /Berber/ regions now submissive. Now, the assembly of
[613] notables, heads of the "ikhs" who people each of the hamlets and who meet whenever the interests of the group are at stake, must be able at any instant to answer the call of its president. Whether
*634 a disturbance breaks out on the border of the territory with a little
•721 nearby state over a violation of the pasturage, or a private war is suddenly ignited in the villages, which threatens the harmony among the brothers of the "taqbilt," so that one might fear an attack on the country by outside enemies by means of this disorder, it is immediately necessary to make all the decisions required in view of the combat or of the pacification. The dimensions of the
[131] canton that administers itself are then doubtless determined solely by the maximum distance that allows the notables to meet easily in one day in order to deliberate together.

*634 If this is the case, so that a functional law determines /158/
131 the maximum dimensions of the elementary Berbère state that the
728 canton is, one easily understands that too numerous a "taqbilt," led little by little to go beyond its primitive limits in order to ensure the subsistence of its families, might be constrained to cut

/274 cont./
permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata," which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without falling. One single path remains open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar everywhere in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a solid house provided with a large reception room in order to receive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous, entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/349 cont./

*631 territory. The way they conceive taking possession of the country
*634 varies according to whether it is a matter of one or the other of
619 the two zones. In the first case, the great chief tries above all to
178 exploit the conquered tribe in order to reap the largest profits from it; his action is rapid and direct and is imposed with one blow; in the second, his penetration is slow, is carried on through the agency of the amghars, and bows patiently to all the subtleties of the play of local politics. But whatever the means employed may be, after a variable time, which depends on the resistance met, the condition of servitude of the subdued populations is identical.

*631 XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- The re-
*634 gions on which the covetousness of the mountain lords is most
•721 gladly directed, with the goal of seizing the resources that they can offer, are those of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas and of the upper valley of the Sous. Hardly established in the command of their tribe of origin, utilizing the forces that the latter can give them, they rush by the most direct route, following the major lines of communication in the Atlas, toward these productive lands. They prefer the south, where one most easily escapes the control of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The rich tribe of the Ihouziyoun, the Aït Semmeg of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, the Souktana have successively excited the conquering ambition of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi and his successor and enemy, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi, then of the Gontafi and of the Glawi. In these territories that they regard as veritable colonies, they are exclusively interested in the profits that they can find.

Their first concern is to settle in the richest valleys, to construct command houses there, and to superimpose on the ancient organization an administration exclusively in charge of imposing heavy contributions on the defenseless Berbère /Berber/ tribes. Moreover, driven from the country at each revolt, they come
[648] back in force on the first occasion and end up, thanks to the establishment of the Protectorate, by staying there.

/349 cont./

*631 *634 *721 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what conditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 *631 *634 616 178 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institutions were still very much alive in part of the confederation. About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal had preserved their Aït arba'in and their small senates. In the valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be- [578] tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifnout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 *631 *634 616 726 [669] Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the